SPC

"BETWEEN JOBS"

PATERNAL UNEMPLOYMENT AND FAMILY LIFE

SOCIAL PLANNING
COUNCIL
OF
METROPOLITAN
TORONTO

86-05720/

"BETWEEN JOBS":

PATERNAL UNEMPLOYMENT AND FAMILY LIFE*

VOLUNTEER PROJECT COMMITTEE

Julie Mathien, chairman
Robert Katz
Sharon Kirsh
Paul Zarnke

AUTHORS

Laura C. Johnson
and
Rona Abramovitch

JUNE, 1986

ISBN: 0-919456-29-4

SOCIAL PLANNING COUNCIL
OF METROPOLITAN TORONTO

PRICE:$7.00

* This research was supported, in part, by a grant from the Social Services and Humanities Research Council of Canada, under the Strategic Grants Program, Responsibility for the content of this report rests with the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto.

This report is based on personal interviews with unemployed fathers living in Metropolitan Toronto and vicinity. Descriptive quotes from these interviews have been used throughout this text. In the interest of confidentiality, there have beer some deliberate alterations made in the information identifying these men and their families.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

A study such as this is based on the combined efforts of a large number of people. The study is based on the accounts of the sixty-two respondents who participated in the survey. We acknowledge this contribution with gratitude.

Identification of a sample of unemployed fathers is a challenge. In this regard, the generous assistance of a number of trade union officials and Metropolitan Toronto area employers made the study possible.

Thanks are also due to our staff of interviewers who, under the direction of Cyril Stickney, conducted the in-depth personal interview. Linda Stanhope supervised the data entry and assisted with the computer analysis of the survey data.

This research has been conducted under the direction of a volunteer project committee chaired by Julie Mathien and including: Bob Katz, Sharon Kirsh and Paul Zarnke. Additional volunteer involvement in the project was provided by Myrtle Doerkson and Beth Hoaster, who participated in a telephone screening survey.

The questionnaires and other research instruments, as well as the various drafts of this report were prepared by Mary Lew. Her assistance throughout this project has been greatly appreciated.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

A father's job loss has serious repercussions for a man and his family. In addition to losing the income from his job, and losing status within the community, the unemployed man may also experience major changes in his relationships and responsibilities within the family. His partner may be in the labour force -- or may have entered the labour force in response to his unemployment. He may find himself saddled with household and house care responsibilities -- a role for which he may have had little or no preparation.

This study by the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto has interviewed a sample of sixty -two unemployed men who are married or living with a partner and have at least one child aged 12 years or younger. Through personal interviews with the fathers, the study documents the ways in which unemployment changes the lives of men and their families.

The sampled men represent a diverse group with regard to ethnic background, educational level, and previous occupation -- though well over one third had been laid off from unskilled of semi-skilled jobs.

This was not a sample of so-called "househusbands". None of the men were voluntarily jobless; all reported that they would prefer to be employed. The average age of the sampled men was 37 years.

Boredom, depression and idleness are the main factors in the fathers' list of complaints. It is boredom, in particular, that the men find to be the

most punishing aspect of their situation. While many do take considerable responsibility for household and child care tasks, many of the fathers characterize their unemployment and time spent at home as "doing nothing".

There is a feeling among some of the fathers that their unemployment has had adverse consequences for their physical health, and in some cases for the health of other members of their families. Inactivity and lack of structure in their days makes some of the fathers put on weight. Others note that their consumption of alcohol has increased since they lost their jobs. In total, some 20% of the fathers report that they or their families have suffered negative health effects which they attribute to their unemployment.

Most of the men feel that their unemployment has taxed their relationships within the family -- particularly the marital relationship. Relationships with parents and in-laws are also placed under strain as a result of paternal unemployment and the resulting shifts in roles and responsibilities within the family.

Most of the families of the unemployed fathers experience a drastic reduction in living standard as a result of the father's job loss. The drop in income, combined with loss of employment-related benefit programs, can mean major changes in the quality of life for a family. About four-fifths of the fathers report that their unemployment results in a financial strain for the family; the drop in families' annual income ranged from $5000 to $40,000, with three-quarters of the sample experiencing a drop of between $5000 and $15,000 per year.

Before unemployment, most of the sampled families had been living at modest levels. with almost 60% having total family incomes below $30,000 and 85% having total family incomes below $40,000. For many, the loss of income they experienced means first, depleting the family's savings, and subsequently, making changes in housing, recreation, and use of dental and other services.

One of the most sinister consequences of unemployment is the social deprivation which a family of the unemployed may experience. Interviews with the fathers reveal that recreational and leisure activities for children and parents are often curtailed as a result of paternal job loss. Travel, vacations, family outings to restaurants, even movies are not affordable for most of the families of the unemployed fathers.

The study identified dental care as an area where a number of families experience a reduction in service. Almost half of the fathers report that their family's dental care has been negatively affected by their unemployment. For many of the fathers, dental plans had been included in the benefits provided by their former employers. Along with the job loss, they find themselves without coverage for dental care.

The survey asked the men about support services which might be of value to families in their situation. It was child care programs which the men singled out as potentially the most useful. Such programs as day care for children of pre-school age, after-school programs for school age children, and emergency or short-term drop-in day care were all identified as helpful supports.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

INTRODUCTION.....1

I PATERNAL UNEMPLOYMENT AND FAMILIES: RESEARCH EVIDENCE.....5

II PILOT STUDY RESULTS.....11

III THE PILOT STUDY SAMPLE SIX MONTHS LATER.....13

IV RESEARCH METHODS.....17

V A DESCRIPTION OF THE SAMPLE.....19

VI NOT WORKING.....25

VII FROM COMFORT TO SURVIVAL.....33

VIII FATHERS AND CHILD CARE.....39

IX CONCLUSION.....47

LISTING OF TABLES

TABLE 1

Respondents' Education Level.....19

TABLE 2

Respondents's Occupation in Most Recent Job.....20

TABLE 3

Ethnic Backgrounds of Respondents.....21

TABLE 4

Primary Language Spoken in Respondent's Homes.....22

TABLE 5

Reason for Respondents' Unemployment.....23

TABLE 6

Occupation of Employed Spouses.....24

TABLE 7

Weekly Hours of Care Provided for Target Child by Father.....41

TABLE 8

Mean Hours of Child Care Provided by Men with Employed and Homemaking Partners.....43

TABLE 9

Sources of Fathers' Information on Child Care.....44

INTRODUCTION

The past two decades in Canada have witnessed major changes in family life in general and, specifically, in the social definition of the roles of mother and father. Traditional patterns of family life have been altered as more mothers have become wage-earners. Fathers have been encouraged to share responsibility for childrearing and housework. Some researchers have described this new male role as intrinsically rewarding (Levine, Pleck and Lamb, 1983; Pleck, 1982), or as supportive of women's new economic roles (Baruch and Barnett, 1983). Nonetheless, recent time-budget research on household responsibilities indicates that the attitudes and behaviour of most North American males have changed relatively little (Robinson, 1977 & 1980). Most men see their own economic role of provider as salient, and loss of that role through unemployment represents a very major disruption in their lives (Hakim, 1982, Binns and Mars, 1984).

Current economic and social conditions in North America are creating a situation in which labour market factors external to the family are forcing large numbers of families to change traditional family roles. Paternal unemployment has become a significant part of the life of many Canadian families. According to Statistics Canada, in 1984 there were some 90,000 unemployed men living in families with employed wives and children under age 16 (Statistics Canada, 1985).

The present study investigates how paternal unemployment may affect men and their families living in Metropolitan Toronto and vicinity. While there is much speculation about the social costs of unemployment, there is little specific information on the ways in which paternal unemployment

affects families. We do not know, for example, whether unemployed fathers assume roles of child care provider and homemaker. For those that do become actively involved in parenting, does that role provide a source of gratification? Alternatively, do the responsibilities of parenting constitute an added source of stress for unemployed fathers?

Clearly, child care is a new, unanticipated role for most men who are thrust into it through job loss. To what extent do they feel competent and prepared for the parenting role? How does the length of time they spend in the parenting role affect men's feelings toward parenting? Does increased time spent in the role increase their learning about parenting, and consequently their satisfaction with the role, or does duration increase the stress? What are unemployed fathers' feelings about the usefulness of formal support services? Are there particular services or programs which they feel would be of value to unemployed parents and their children?

A further set of unanswered questions deals with the partner's role in the family and the workplace. How does she react to her spouse's changed work status? Does she move into a new or more demanding work role? Does the degree of her involvement in a work role affect her partner's support for her parenting role? What about the effect of paternal unemployment on the marital relationship? Is there evidence of increased tension or discord? Finally, how do the children fare in families with unemployed fathers? Is there any indication of negative impact on their behaviour or development?

This study breaks new ground by examining the various ways in which paternal unemployment may affect the roles and relationships within the family unit. The results of the study provide information on the ways in

which family systems adapt to parental unemployment. In a more general sense, the results of this survey represent an important investigation into the flexibility of roles and relationships within the family.

* * *

The social cost of unemployment is an issue that has begun to attract the attention of researchers in a number of fields. In order to place the results of the Toronto study in context, we begin with a review of the existing research evidence on unemployment and family life.

I. PATERNAL UNEMPLOYMENT AND FAMILIES: RESEARCH EVIDENCE

a. Psychological Effects of Unemployment on Fathers

While there is a body of research linking unemployment with mental health problems (Dooley and Catalano, 1980; Fagin & Little, 1984), there is little evidence which relates specifically to unemployed fathers. There is no single study which examines the psychological impact of the simultaneous changes in the work role and the family role which characterize paternal unemployment. Depression era studies of the 1930s generally found a broad range of negative effects of unemployment on the psychological functioning of men and their families. However, individual reactions varied widely and appeared to be affected by factors such as age and sex of the unemployed person, the length of unemployment, the degree of economic loss and family cohesion. (Reviews of the 1930s findings appear in: Eisenberg and Lazarsfeld, 1938; Jahoda, 1979; Liem and Liem, 1978).

Although the Depression studies suggest possible consequences of contemporary unemployment, there are problems with generalizing their findings to the present due to profound changes in the social context in which unemployment occurs. More recently, Brenner (1973) used complex statistical procedures to determine that increased unemploument is associated with increased first admissions to mental hospitals in New York State. This finding has been criticized (Catalano, Dooley and Jackson, 1981) on the grounds that economic decline may simply uncover existing untreated disorders, rather than produce symptoms in healthy people.(See also Catalano, Dooley & Jackson, 1985).

Additional research in Britain and the U.S. tends to support the

relationship between unemployment and poor mental health. While none deals specifically with effects on fathers, it is possible to derive from these studies some general indications of factors which increase the negative impact of unemployment on mental health, emotional well-being, and life satisfaction. These factors include: (1) being middle-aged, especially when married with young dependents (Warr, 1978; Liem and Rayman, 1982); (2) having lower occupational status, i.e., semi-skilled or unskilled work (Hepworth, 1980); (3) viewing work as central to one's identity and wanting to work (Warr, 1978; Swinburne, 1981); (4) being unemployed for longer periods of time (Hepworth, 1980); (5)having no warning of or control over job loss (Swinburne, 1981); and (6)not having financial resources to fall back on (Powell and Driscoll, 1973). In a recent review of literature on the consequences of unemployment, Hakim (1982) observes that the psychological impact of job loss through unemployment is generally greater for men than for women (see also Schwefel, John, Potthoff & Hechler, 1984), and generally greater for married than for single men. For married men, she observes, the paid employment and/or occupational role is a central focus of personal identity.

A Canadian study by Burke (1985) which compared the consequences of job loss for men and women found more severe economic consequences for women, such as shorter duration of subsequent employment, lower earnings, and greater drop in wages. As a group, the unemployed in this study reported no more psychosomatic symptoms than the general population; however,they reported less satisfaction with life and less marital and family satisfaction. They also smoked more and drank more alcohol than the general population.

German research conducted by Schwefel, John, Potthoff & Hechler (1984) found poorer mental but not physical health among the unemployed in comparison with employed controls five to six weeks after becoming unemployed. The authors concluded that unemployment may remove the worker from an unhealthy environment or may affect mental health sooner than physical health. Results of this study also indicate that both financial difficulties and social isolation increase the negative impact of unemployment on mental health.

One of the very few recent studies to concentrate on the impacts of paternal unemployment on fathers and their families is an ongoing American study by Margolis and Farran (1984 and 1985). Preliminary results of their research indicate that for fathers there is an association between duration of unemployment and depression, low self-esteem, anxiety and resentment.

b. Effects of Paternal Unemployment on Families

Both historical and contemporary studies have shown male unemployment to have a variety of disruptive effects on family life. American studies of the 1930s, largely based on individual family case studies, found that unemployment had negative consequences for family relationships and functioning (Eisenberg and Lazarsfeld, 1938; Moen, 1983). More recently, Hakim (1982) reports that unemployment of a male breadwinner undermines family stability, increases friction between spouses, and may increase the risk of divorce.

Time-series analysis by South (1985) has shown that there is a rise in the divorce rate during periods of unemployment (although the author does not

interpret this finding as being due to disruptive effects of employment on family life).

In a study of working class family life of unemployed men in Glasgow, Scotland, Binns and Mars (1984) report that the resulting drop in social and economic status combines with the upheaval in domestic roles to make the unemployed family a highly unstable unit.

Research by Thomas, McCabe and Berry in the U.S.(1980) suggests that the negative consequences of paternal unemployment may be less severe among managerial and professional groups with somewhat older children. Asked, "How has your being unemployed affected your relationship with your spouse?" almost half (48%) of their middle-aged respondents reported no change, about one-third (37%) reported a negative effect, while 15% reported some positive effect. This finding suggests that, not surprisingly, a family's economic resources may cushion the impact of unemployment.

There is some evidence suggesting negative consequences for the partners of unemployed males. A study done in the U.S. by Liem and Rayman (1982) found that negative consequences for wives of unemployed men increased with length of unemployment. One month after unemployment, wives of the unemployed were somewhat more depressed than wives of the employed,but there were no other significant differences between the two groups. By four months after unemployment, wives of the unemployed were significantly more depressed, anxious, and sensitive about interpersonal relationships. Liem and Rayman (1984) subsequently report a variety of other family-level effects among families of unemployed males. Notable among these were

shared perceptions by both spouses of increased family conflict and disorganization following unemployment, and increased risk of separation and divorce.

Preliminary results from another American study of unemployed men and their families (Margolis and Farran, 1984 and 1985) also suggest that paternal job loss has adverse effects on the moods of both parents, with wives showing some evidence of increase in depression and anxiety. In addition, British research by Fagin and Little (1984) found changes in the wives of unemployed men such as increased depression and cigarette smoking, Interestingly, some wives benefitted from their husbands' unemployment by assuming a more important position in the family derived from a new role as primary breadwinner.

One important contribution of the Fagin and Little study is to demonstrate that the consequences of unemployment for the family depend on each family's developmental stage and particular mode of functioning. This research provides preliminary descriptive information about changes in family members' roles and relationships and the organization of family life that follow unemployment.

Generally, however, the literature on family impact of unemployment contains little if any analysis of the way in which externally imposed changes in the work role may affect roles within the family. One exception is the recent study of male unemployment among blue collar families in Glasgow cited above (Binns and Marrs, 1984), which does examine reciprocal effects of changes in highly traditional work and family roles. We need to address the same questions within the context of contemporary Canadian society.

c. Effects of Paternal Unemployment on Children

Children may also show the effects of paternal unemployment. The unemployed respondents in Liem and Rayman's 1982 research reported signs of stress in their children, including moodiness and problems in school and in peer relationships. A British study by Fagin and Little (1981 & 1984) reported similar results. It may be the case that children are only susceptible to the effects of prolonged parental unemployment. Early results from Margolis and Farran's ongoing longitudinal study of paternal unemployment (1984) found no significant health or behavioural consequences for children of unemployed fathers. The researchers speculate that children may be protected from immediate effects, while the real effects may only become manifest in the longer term.

In summary, while there is growing consensus that unemployment is a major social problem with considerable social cost, there is relatively little research evidence on the direct effects of paternal unemployment on parenting and family life. The evidence that does exist suggests a number of areas of potential problems, some factors that may exacerbate the negative impacts of unemployment, as well as factors, such as financial security,that may cushion such effects. In fact, the conclusions from available research give considerable cause for concern about the social effects of paternal unemployment. The findings that married men experience particularly high levels of psychological distress from unemployment, that negative consequences for families seem to increase with the duration of fathers' unemployment, and that financial insecurity may increase the stress associated with unemployment. all suggest that paternal unemployment may have a serious, negative impact on parenting and family life.

II. PILOT STUDY RESULTS

This report represents the second phase in the Social Planning Council's ongoing research on effects of paternal unemployment on families. The first phase was a pilot study involving in-depth personal interviews with a sample of 30 unemployed fathers of young children in the Metropolitan Toronto area (Johnson & Abramovitch, 1985). Respondents in that pilot study were located predominantly through "on-the-street" screening of men observed with young children in shopping malls, parks, and other public places. Twenty four of the respondents were unemployed at the time of the interview; six were recently employed following a period of unemployment. The pilot study interviews included a large number of unstructured questions designed to elicit men's attitudes toward unemployment, towards child care and other family responsibilities, and towards support services.

Analysis of the data from that pilot study led to the development of a series of structured interview items and scales designed to assess fathers' attitudes and reactions toward unemployment.

Results of that pilot study provided a preliminary portrait of the unemployed father, his needs and his problems, and suggested a statistical relationship between the duration of paternal unemployment and certain aspects of the fathering role. Specifically, the pilot study suggested that for those fathers who assumed responsibility for child care, the longer the duration of the fathers' unemployment, the more likely they were to describe their children in negative terms.

Other findings from the pilot study were as follows:

Job loss was found to be a major shock to the self-esteem of the fathers interviewed. Most of the fathers reacted to unemployment in negative terms, emphasizing the deleterious effects of unemployment on themselves and other family members. Boredom, depression, and anxiety characterized many fathers' reactions to unemployment.

A number of the fathers felt themselves to be stigmatized and blamed by the community at large. Loneliness and social isolation were reported by some of the fathers.

On the positive side, one-half of the fathers interviewed in the pilot study cited opportunities to spend time with their children as one of the few positive consequences of their unemployment. On the negative side, some of the unemployed fathers found themselves suddenly thrust into child care and homemaker roles for which they felt ill-prepared.

Many of the fathers cited a need for child care services to enable them to search for employment, as well as to have some time to themselves, away from their young children.

III. THE PILOT STUDY SAMPLE SIX MONTHS LATER

The apparent association between duration of fathers' unemployment and their negative descriptions of their young children was one of the main findings of the pilot study. Since the duration of unemployment appeared to be such an important factor, a decision was made to re-interview the pilot sample six months after the original interview. Like the initial interview, the follow-up interview probed men's feelings about work and unemployment, their children, and their family life.

Follow-up interviews were sought only with those fathers who had been unemployed at the time of the original interview -- a total of 24 men. Personal follow-up interviews were conducted with 22 of these men; telephone contact was made with one father who preferred not to do the personal interview, but agreed to an abbreviated telephone interview; in the last case, the respondent could not be located -- the interviewer was informed that he had separated from his former partner and changed his place of residence. Descriptions of the follow-up survey are based on the sample of 22 cases for which the interview was complete.

At the time of the follow-up, 9 of the men were still unemployed. 13 were employed-- 11 of these employed on a full-time basis.

Comparing the child descriptions of the unemployed and the recently employed fathers, there is a tendency -- though not statisically significant -- for the child descriptions of the still-unemployed fathers to be more negative than those of the employed fathers. (T-tests were used to compare the mean child descriptions for the two groups of fathers.)

Given the small size of the subsample of still-unemployed fathers from the follow-up survey, it is more appropriate to examine the qualitative survey data than to search for statistical results. The survey asked still-unemployed fathers a number of open-ended questions; the fathers' answers describe some of the costs and the consequences of long-term paternal unemployment. As it was the second interview, and as they were already familiar with the project, and in some cases were speaking with the same interviewer, the respondents tended to be relatively frank and open in describing their experiences.

Feelings of frustration, depression, and hopelessness characterize some of these fathers' descriptions of their experiences with prolonged unemployment:

> "I don't see chances of being useful. Society has forgotten me. I don't have a sense of control. There's a pointlessness to life. Especially discouraging is the fact that you know it's a country where people have lots of money. It's almost criminal how society looks after some and forgets others."

Others focus on the indignity of unemployment:

> "Unemployment is inhumane. My most prevalent feeling is a loss of dignity. You start to 'look' for work, then 'ask'for work, then 'beg' for work."

The men were asked to think back to the first interview, six months earlier, and to consider whether things had improved or gotten worse. None reported that things had gotten better; virtually all described worsening financial and emotional difficulties. One father describes how child care, which he had found to be rewarding initially, has become less rewarding with the passage of time:

> "My situation has gotten worse. At first it was good to be at home with the kids, but now it's not so good. I should be at work, not being a househusband."

At the time of the follow-up interview, one of the still-unemployed fathers was going through a legal separation and child custody battle. It was his feeling that his unemployment may have contributed to the break-up of his marriage. He felt certain that his situation had deteriorated since the initial interview:

> "Things have gotten worse. There's stress due to custody and separation procedures. I am unsure of even my immediate future.

Another father describes feelings of depression experienced by himself and his partner:

> "We have had to cut down on our recreation. We are both depressed, and even though I have the time to do things, I am not in the mood."

In time, most of these fathers find that the activities of child care and housekeeping lose their novelty, along with any appeal they might have had. The following comments are representative:

> "It is boring at home doiong the housework"

> "I don't like keeping house, babysitting, changing diapers, and so on."

IV. RESEARCH METHODS

The present study has been designed to explore the pilot study findings on a larger, more systematic and representative sample. While still considered to be a preliminary phase of a large-scale research project on unemployment and fathers, the present study uses a sample twice the size of the pilot study sample. The sixty-two respondents in the present sample have been located through a variety of means including union and employer referrals from firms experiencing lay-offs or plant closures, and direct screening of households via telephone.

The present sample consists of unemployed fathers with one or more children twelve years of age or younger. Some of the men have partners who are employed full or part-time; others have partners who are full-time homemakers. The objective of the present study is to examine the effect that paternal unemployment has upon the lives of these men and their families. Through personal interviews conducted in the men's homes, in the language of their choice, this study uses a combination of structured and open-ended questions to elicit the men's feelings and reactions toward their joblessness.

A subjective definition of unemployment was the basis for inclusion in the sample: men who considered themselves to be unemployed were eligible. Excluded from the sample were men who were voluntarily out of the labour force -- so-called "househusbands" who may have opted to stay at home to care for children -- as well as those unable to work due to illness or injury.

V.A DESCRIPTION OF THE SAMPLE

The sample represents considerable diversity with regard to a variety of socio-demographic characteristics. Table 1 reports the educational levels of the sampled men. Over half of the sample (56.7%) had less than a high school diploma; about one - fifth (21.7%) had completed high school; while the remaining fifth (21.7%) had college or university training.

TABLE 1

Respondents' Education Level

(n=60)

	%	n
Elementary School	25.0	15
Some High School	31.7	19
Completed High School	21.7	13
Community College	6.6	4
University	8.4	5
Post Graduate and Professional	6.6	4
Total	100.0%	60

The most recent occupation of the sampled men is reported in Table 2. The most common occupational category was unskilled or semi-skilled jobs, which accounted for over one - third (37.1%) of previous occupations. Another

22.6% of the men had been employed in skilled trades; 14.5% had held service jobs; a total of 9.6% had been in clerical or sales positions; while 16.2% had been in professional,technical, managerial or supervisory jobs. Fathers range in age from 20to 56 years. The average age of the fathers surveyed was 37.6 years.

TABLE 2

Respondents' Occupation in Most Recent Job

(n=62)

	%	n
Professional/Technical	9.7	6
Managerial/Supervisory	6.5	4
Clerical	4.8	3
Sales	4.8	3
Service	14.5	9
Skilled Trades	22.6	14
Semi-skilled and Unskilled	37.1	23
Total	100.0%	62

There is considerable variety in the ethnicity of the sampled men. Table 3 indicates respondents' descriptions of their ethnic backgrounds. Approximately 30% designate themselves Canadian; almost 18% are Chinese or other Far East Asian; about 11% are Portuguese; 10% are West Asian; 10% are

Eastern European; 8% are Greek and about 3% each are Italian and West Asian.

TABLE 3

Ethnic Backgrounds of Respondents

(n=62)

	%	n
Canadian	29.0	18
Portuguese	11.3	7
East European	9.7	6
Greek	8.2	5
Italian	3.2	2
Chinese	4.8	3
Other Far East Asian	12.9	6
West Asian	9.7	6
West Indian	3.2	2
Spanish	1.6	1
British	1.6	1
Other	4.8	3
Total	100.0%	62

This ethnic diversity is also reflected in the languages spoken at home by the respondents (see Table 4). Over 60% of the respondents speak primarily

English. The next largest group -- about 11% -- speaks Portuguese. About 6% speak Greek; 5% speak Chinese. Other languages spoken by small numbers of the respondents include: Spanish; Polish; Vietnamese; Punjabi and Maltese.

TABLE 4

Primary Language Spoken in Respondent's Homes

(n=62)

	%	n
English	61.3	38
Portuguese	11.3	7
Greek	6.5	4
Chinese	4.8	3
Polish	3.2	2
Spanish	1.6	1
Italian	1.6	1
Other	9.7	6
Total	100.0%	62

Asked to describe how they became unemployed, the men give a number of different reasons (see Table 5). The largest share (67.7%) reported having lost their job through lay-offs; 14.5% had quit their last job; 11.3% were terminated. While all respondents describe themselves as being willing to work and available for work,over 90% of the men reported that they had

looked for work within the four week period immediately preceding the interview. The average duration of unemployment for the sampled men was 8.7 months.

TABLE 5

Reason for Respondents' Unemployment

(n=62)

	%	n
Lay Off	67.7	42
Resignation	14.5	9
Termination	11.3	7
Contract Termination	1.6	1
Other	4.8	3
Total	100.0%	62

The sample includes both men whose spouses are in the labour force (57%) and those whose wives or partners are homemakers (43%). In 30% of those families with employed wives, the wives had entered the labour force in response to their husbands' unemployment.

Table 6 presents an occupational distribution of the employed wives. Clerical and semi-skilled and unskilled jobs account for the largest numbers; professional and technical and service jobs account for somewhat smaller proportions. Four - fifths of the employed wives (80.0%) work at

least 35 hours per week. While most work regular, daytime schedules, there are about 20% of the women who work at night or on rotating shifts.

TABLE 6

Occupation of Employed Spouses

(n=36)

	%	n
Professional/technical	13.9	5
Managerial/supervisory	2.8	1
Clerical	33.3	12
Sales	2.8	1
Service	13.9	5
Skilled Trades	2.8	1
Semi-skilled and Unskilled	30.5	11
Total	100.0%	36

VI. NOT WORKING

> "It's goddamn boring staying home. It drives you nuts. The days seem like weeks. In summer you can take the kids outside, or work on the house. Winter is the worst."

> "It's frustrating taking care of kids. I'm not used to it. Most of my life I've spent working. It's hard to get used to not working".

> "Being unemployed is rotten. I feel useless. I have a family to support and can't find a job. It's heart-breaking. I fill out applications and they don't want to talk to me at all".

Unemployment and the Work Ethic

The unemployed fathers subscribe to the Canadian work ethic. For the most part, when they were employed, they liked their work. When asked whether they had found their previous job satisfying, 70% replied that they had. Some were very enthusiastic in their descriptions of those jobs, describing skills they had acquired and other benefits they had received. One man who had worked as a meat cutter reports:

> " I liked the job. My technique kept improving, and I was given more responsibility. I felt I had to do it right, and I felt worth."

Another man who had worked as a labourer in a union shop in a plant that was shut down says simply:

> " It was good. The money was good and the job was great."

An unemployed truck driver describes that job very positively, but is pessimistic about future job opportunities:

" I really liked that job. The money was good. I don't think I'll ever get a job like that again."

Others reported that their jobs had been "rewarding", "interesting" or "enjoyable".

In general, the men are extremely anxious to return to the labour force, and many report that they would consider working at different kinds of jobs in order to do so. A number express their personal difficulties accepting Unemployment Insurance benefits, saying they would much prefer to earn a salary than receive such benefits. Fully one-half of the sample report that they would accept a job that paid two-thirds of their previous earnings, though many report that it would be difficult to provide for their families with a pay reduction of such a magnitude. Explaining why he would accept a job offer with such a pay cut, one father echoed the sentiments of many:

"Yes, I would accept the job, for I believe it is better to make a little than to make nothing."

For many of the fathers interviewed, receiving Unemployment Insurance benefits is equivalent to "making nothing".

Most of these men experience unemployment as a serious blow. Asked to describe the experience of unemployment, 90% of the men use predominantly negative terms.

Boredom and Depression

It is boredom that most of the unemployed fathers find to be among the most punishing aspects of their situation. While many do claim to take

considerable responsibility for household and child care tasks, many of the fathers describe their unemployment and time spent at thome as "doing nothing". One father expresses the sentiments of many:

> " I hate it. When you're used to being busy, doing nothing at home is frustrating and depressing."

Boredom, depression, idleness are the major factors in the fathers' list of complaints. When asked to describe things they particularly disliked about being unemployed, well over one third of the fathers (38.7%) began with boredom and related factors.

Asked to indicate their agreement or disagreement with the statement: "Since I have been unemployed, I have often felt bored", the great majority of fathers (88.6%) noted agreement. Some 60% of fathers noted that they agreed strongly with the statement, indicating the depth of their feelings.

"Frustrating", "depressing", and "degrading" are other words used by the fathers to describe their unemployment. Over three quarters of the fathers interviewed (78.8%) reported that they had often felt depressed since becoming unemployed. Still more of the fathers (88.7%) stated that they had often felt frustrated.

Men's feelings of depression were assessed through a set of statements dealing with feelings about unemployment. For each statement, respondents used a seven-point scale to indicate their agreement or disagreement. Factor analysis of the responses identified a depression factor. Analysis of the fathers' scores on this measure indicate a tendency for the men's feelings of depression to increase with increasing length of unemployment.

The depression factor showed a correlation of .26 (p .05) with the duration of unemployment, measured in months. The words of one unemployed father dramatize this statistical relationship:

> "I could tolerate unemployment for two or three months, but it's unbearable now."

For some of the men, the experience of repeated rejection causes the most pain. For others, worry about family finances is the key source of strain. For most, the combination of boredom, financial uncertainty and lack of future job prospects creates acute emotional strain:

> " I've never experienced anything like it in my life. I was brought up to work. It's been very hard on me emotionally, and it's been very hard on the family You feel useless and bored. After time, you lose confidence. It's frustrating."

Why Me?

The survey also inquired about the men's feelings about the reasons for their unemployed status. The interview asked: "What do you feel is preventing you from finding a job?" The majority of respondents (82.2%) replied in terms of structural conditions, including current economic conditions, rates of unemployment, or problems in particular industries. "It's mainly the economic situation -- times are tough." Some cited competition for scarce jobs from immigrants and from women, others blamed automation.

Another group, a minority of the respondents (17.7%), offered more personal explanations for their lack of success in the job market. Some of these men felt they were victims of discrimination because of race or age:

"The problem is my age. Tell them you're 49, they look at you and laugh. If I were ten years younger, it would make a difference."

"I read about that new study on job discrimination because of race. I think that's what's affecting me. I can't understand why I can't find work. I wear neat clothes, I speak politely, I have a lot of experience."

"The major reason is that I'm Black. They say the reason is that I don't have relevant Canadian experience."

Others felt their lack of fluency in English hampered their chances of finding work. Still others blamed their situation on their lack of education, training, or experience.

The interview also probed men's feelings of optimism or pessimism about their future employment opportunities. The men were asked: "What do you think about your future job prospects?"

While most indicated that they were generally hopeful about finding work eventually, about one-fifth of the men (21.0) sounded hopeless about their outlook:

"Based on my continuous search, I am reaching the point of despair."

"My future doesn't look good. There's little hope."
"It doesn't look too good. I've talked to local politicians and to employers. No response. I've very pessimistic. I can't even get part-time or temporary jobs."

Health Effects

Some of the fathers feel that the strain of their unemployment has adverse consequences for their physical health -- and in some cases -- for the health of members of their family. Inactivity and lack of schedule or structure in their days makes some of the fathers put on weight. There are seven who report that they have gained wieight since becoming unemployed. Several note that their consumption of alcohol has increased since they lost their jobs.

Asked: "Have you or any member of your family experienced any change in physical health since you became unemployed?", some 20% reported negative health effects which they attributed to unemployment.

Another item in the interview asked for respondents' level of agreement with the statement: "Since I have been unemployed, I have had fewer health problems". Almost one half (49.2%) disagreed; 30% disagreed strongly. For some, it would seem, unemployment can be hazardous to health.

Effects on the Marital Relationship

Interviews with the fathers reveal that most feel that their unemployment has taxed their relationship with their partner--and in some cases with other family members:

> " Our marriage is under a lot of strain and we do not get along as well as we would if I had an income. My relationships with my parents and my mother-in-law and father-in-law are under strain as well. They don't complain, but I feel like I'm unproductive and they are not proud of what I do. They see no benefit in my raising the children."

The fathers tend to feel that their job loss has had negative consequences for their partner. This is evident from fathers' responses to the statement: "On balance, my unemployment has been a good experience for my wife/partner." When fathers registered their level of agreement/disagreement with this statement on a seven-point scale, it was apparent that most disagreed. Over half (60.1%) indicated disagreement, with one-half of the fathers choosing the extreme end of the scale to indicate their very strong disagreement with the statement. While some of the fathers agreed with the statement that unemployment had been good for their partner, these were a minority of under 15%. About one-quarter (24.2%) chose the neutral point on the scale, indicating either agreement or disagreement.

While two-thirds of the fathers denied that their unemployment had led to marital problems, there were almost one-third (31.1%) who did feel that their unemployment was responsible for problems in their marriage.

VII. FROM COMFORT TO SURVIVAL

Most of the families of the unemployed fathers experienced a drastic reduction in living standard as a result of the father's job loss. The drop in income, in many cases combined with loss of employment-related benefit programs, can mean major changes in quality of life for a family.

The survey compared annual family income levels before and after the father's unemployment. The majority of the families experienced a reduction in total family income as a result of paternal unemployment. About four fifths of the fathers (81.4%) stated that their unemployment was a financial strain. The drop in the families' annual incomes ranged from approximately $5,000 to approximately $40,000, with three quarters of the sample (74.7%) experiencing a drop of between $5,000 and $15,000 per year.

Before unemployment, the families in this sample were, for the most part, living at modest levels, with almost 60% having total family incomes of less than $30,000; and 85% having total incomes below $40,000. The mean, or average total family income for these families before unemployment was just over $30,000. For many, the loss of income they experience means, first, depleting the family's savings, and, subsequently, making changes in housing, recreation, and use of dental and other services.

One of the most sinister consequences of unemployment is the social deprivation which a family of the unemployed may experience. Recreational and leisure activities for children and parents are often reported curtailed as a result of paternal job loss. Travel, vacations, family outings to restaurants, even movies are not affordable for most of the

families of the unemployed fathers. The families miss the chance for such recreational activities, and a number of the fathers express their regret about these missed opportunities:

> "It doesn't work out well as far as our personal life is concerned. We haven't had a holiday or even eaten out together in years."

> "We've had to draw the line on social things.We're just not as free withour money right now -- we can only afford the necessities."

> "Our family's financial situation has become more difficult. We just spend on food and rent. We've cut off all other activities."

> "We can't join any activities, no fitness classes -- we can't even get our car repaired."

> "My unemployment has greatly affected the social life of our family. We can't do what we used to do, go out to dinner. I'm not in the position to do that any more."

> "I'm just glad it's not summer -- if it were, it would sure mess up my kids' vacation if I were unemployed. We got through Christmas by the skin of our teeth."

> "We can't do the things we would like to do. We're just making ends meet. We never lived high off the hog anyway."

> "Such lack of funds can keep parents from having time together, away from their children: We cannot afford to hire a sitter and go out, so we spend very little time together. We rarely go out for dinner. An occasional break would help our relationship with each other and the children."

One father makes it quite clear that the financial difficulty is the major difficulty they face!

> "Being unemployed is not the problem - the monetary thing is the problem, the real difference in the monetary situation."

Some of the families are forced to change their housing accommodations -- or to alter their future plans for housing -- as a result of the father's joblessness. A number express concern about being able to meet their mortgage payments:

> "There's an overall letdown when you're unemployed. Suddenly there's no paycheque. I'm worried about the mortgage payments --how will we make ends meet?"

Others have already put their homes up for sale:

> "I can't explain the feeling. We put the house up for sale. Unemployment is a pure disaster. There was no warning it would happen."

Still others have already sold their homes:

> "Our family income dropped by one third or so. It's very, very bad. We've sold our house -- couldn't keep up the mortgage -- and we're going to move into an apartment."

The financial hardship associated with unemployment is a major concern of the fathers. When asked to describe any things they particularly disliked about being unemployed, financial difficulty was the concern mentioned first by the second greatest number of men, with 30.6% citing this as their first response. Financial hardship ranked second in concern following boredom and depression. Many other fathers, while first citing some other

factor such as boredom or loss of self-esteem, mentioned the financial strain as an additional problem.

The fathers' comments reveal the strength of their concerns about not being able to provide for their families:

> "I dislike having to scrounge to make money. It's embarassing. I worry about bills and everything. Where is the grocery money coming from?"

> "When I feel extrememly hopeless, I buy a lottery ticket."

> "I have no money to buy what may family wants. I have no extra cash for going out. I can't buy new clothes and other things my children want."

> "Unemployment is not a good experience. With the loss of income I cannot buy things for the family. I cannot afford medicine. There's no extra spending money. It affects my mental health and well-being."

> "The hardest part is knowing that your funds are rapidly depleting --having to agree to accept loans offered by relatives, not knowing what your are going to do when your funds are gone, not knowing when you will get a job."

The survey identified dental care as an area where a number of families of the unemployed experienced a reduction in service. Almost half of the fathers(46.4%) reported that their family's dental carehad been negatively affected by their unemployment. For many of the fathers, dental plans had been included in the fringe benefits provided by their former employers. Along with job loss, they find themselves without coverage for dental care:

"Unemployment has meant we lose our dental care. I used to have a dental plan. We all need dental care now."

"There's no dental care if there's no job."

"When I was working, the family and I went to the dentist more often."

"We have no money to go to the dentist."

The fathers' statements indicate that school-age children's dental care can be provided through the schools, and it is the parents who seem to have the greatest need. Preventive dental care is a luxury some of the families can no longer afford:

"My wife and I cannot afford dental care for ourselves now. The children receive care through their school. When I was employed, we had a family dental plan."

"Both my wife and I need dental care. I have a missing tooth, but I don't have the $500. needed to replace it."

"We do not see a dentist now."

Not all of the families live in financial hardship as a result of the father's unemployment. A small number (9%) experienced either no change or an increase in income. These were mostly families in which an unemployed father was collecting Unemployment Insurance benefits and in which the spouse entered the labour force as a result of her husband's unemployment. In one such case, the family's access to dental care actually improved:

"It's gotten better, my wife has a better dental plan than I did."

VIII. FATHERS AND CHILD CARE

The survey asked the fathers to describe any things they particularly liked about being unemployed. "Nothing" was the most popular answer, being the response given by almost half (46.8%) of the fathers. ("There is nothing I really like about being unemployed. What could be good about being unemployed?") Lower in frequency than "nothing", but higher in frequency than "a chance to do odd jobs and leisure activities" (17.7%), was the answer "time with kids and family", which was mentioned by almost one-quarter of the fathers (24.2%). While few of the fathers citing this family-related advantage of unemployment were positive in their over-all assessment of the experience of unemployment, these men did appreciate that their jobless schedules permitted increased opportunities to spend time with their young children.

Reviewing their answers, it is clear that even those who appreciate the opportunity for increased contact with their children find the experience of unemployment considerably more bitter than sweet. Typical of these answers are the following:

> "There are no real good points to being unemployed, but spending more time with my daughter is better than before.
>
> "The only good thing is spending more time with my son."
>
> "I enjoy only being with my family, enjoying them."
>
> "The only thing I like is having more time with my children."

Fathers as Caregivers

To what extent do unemployed fathers assume an active role in child care? Do the fathers take on primary responsibility for child care while they are unemployed? How well prepared do the fathers feel for the role of child care provider? What about the mothers in these families--how do they influence their partners' involvement in child care and other household responsibilities?

Because it is difficult to gauge the degree to which fathers assume responsibility for child care, the survey used two different indicators. For a quantitative measure of paternal participation, fathers were asked to indicate the total number of hours of care they had provided for the target child in the week immediately preceding the interview. As a more general measure of paternal participation, an open-ended question asked the fathers to describe their predominant child care arrangement for the target child. In addition, fathers' attitudes toward child care activities were also assessed through a number of structured questions.

With regard to the number of hours of child care, the answers, reported in Table 7, indicate a considerable range in the amount of child care provided by the fathers. A relatively small number (15%) do not provide care for their children. One-third of the fathers provide between 1 and 19 hours of child care weekly. Over one-half of the fathers (51.7%) provide care for at least 20 hours per week. The mean, or average number of hours of child care provided by the fathers is 23.7 hours per week.

TABLE 7

Weekly Hours of Care Provided for Target Child by Father (n=60)

Hours of Care	%	(n)
0	15.0	9
1- 9	11.7	7
10-19	21.6	13
20-29	15.0	9
30-39	13.3	8
40 or more	23.4	14
Total	100.0%	60

The second measure of paternal participation in child care was taken from the fathers' descriptions of the predominant child care arrangement used for the target child. These descriptions were coded according to whether it was the father, the mother, both parents jointly, or some other child care provider(s) who had the primary responsibility. Fathers were designated "highly participant" if they were identified as either the sole or the joint provider of care for the target child.

In 10 of the families (16.4%) it was reported that the father had major responsibility for child care; in an additional 13 families (21.3%) the two parents assumed joint responsibility. The remaining families used a variety of child care arrangements including: the mother providing care (24.6%); relatives; baby sitters; day care centres and schools.

Not surprisingly,the two measures of paternal participation in child care are highly related. Fathers who were designated as "highly participant" put in, on average, a significantly higher number of hours of child care per week than did the other fathers. For the sample as a whole, the mean (average) number of hours of child care was 23.7 per week. The highly participant fathers averaged 32.3 hours weekly; the other fathers averaged only 18.3 hours.

The key factor influencing fathers' participation in child care appears to be the employment status of the partner. Men whose wives were employed devoted significantly more hours per week to child care than did men whose wives were full-time homemakers. As shown in Table 8, the mean number of weekly child care hours for men whose wives were employed was 28.3; the men whose wives were homemakers spent an average of 17.2 hours doing child care per week.

It is interesting to note the number of factors which do <u>not</u> appear to influence the unemployed fathers' participation in child care. Among the factors not related to his participation in child care are: educational level of father and spouse; family income level before and during unemployment; the father's level of satisfaction with his previous job; the father's ethnicity; his age; the sex of the target child;the number of children in the family; and the duration of the father's unemployment.

TABLE 8

Mean Hours of Child Care Provided by Men with Employed and Homemaking Partners. (n=60)

Partner's Employment Status	Mean Hours of Care Weekly	Standard Deviation	n
Employed	28.3	24.0	35
Homemaker	17.2	15.0	25

p .05

Supports for Child Care

Before becoming parents, most North American men have little information, training, or experience in the care of young children. While some such preparation is generally part of the socialization of females, this is often not the case for men. When faced with the responsibility for child care, where do the men turn for information and advice?

While other researchers have not dealt with this issue as it relates to unemployed fathers in particular, there is one recent American study which looks at fathers in general. Riley and Cochran (1985) investigated fathers' use of personal social networks as a source of childrearing advice. They found that 27% of the fathers reported no such source of advice on childrearing.

How does this finding compare with the sources of information and advice used by the Canadian sample of unemployed fathers? Asked "To whom have you gone for information and advice on child care?", nearly three-quarters of the sample replied "No one" (see Table 9). Another ten percent reported that they relied on their spouse/partner for such information; about five percent cited professionals such as physicians or teachers; and the remaining ten percent relied on friends or other sources. These results indicate that the unemployed fathers have few sources of information and advice on child care.

TABLE 9

Sources of Fathers' Information on Child Care (n=61)

Source	%	n
No one	73.7	45
Spouse/partner	9.8	6
Professionals	6.6	4
Friends	3.3	2
Others	6.6	4
Total	100.0%	61

The survey also assessed fathers' attitudes about the kinds of services that would be of value to them. The men were read a list of ten different

services, and asked to rate each on a 7-point scale ranging from "extremely helpful" to "not at all helpful". The collection of services included some directed at the men's needs, e.g.,employment counselling, support group for unemployed fathers; and some programs for children, e.g. short-term day care or after-school recreation programs. It is of interest to note that those programs which the fathers rated as most helpful were services that provided child care. The three programs which received the highest proportion of "extremely helpful" ratings included:

1. A pre-school children's day care centre (44.1% rated it highest)
2. After-school programs for school-age children (43.1%)
3. Short-term or"drop-in" day care (35.6%)

IX. CONCLUSION

The results of this study demonstrate the close interrelationship between the domains of work and family. Job loss represents an extreme example of major change in the work role. For the 62 fathers interviewed in this study, job loss has had a profound impact on their feelings of self-esteem and their roles and relationships within the family.

Viewed from this perspective, it is clear that there are heavy social costs associated with high rates of unemployment.The research evidence on the interdependence between work and family roles directs our attention to the realm of social and employment policy. Policies known as ±job redistribution', with expanded opportunities for part-time work and temporary leaves of absence from the labour force,can increase the options for parents such as those in this study sample. On the one hand, improved opportunities for parental leave can help to remove the stigma and legitimize staying at home to care for young children. On the other hand, by increasing part-time work opportunities, there may be fewer people who, like the fathers in the sample, end up losers in the job lottery.

REFERENCES

BARUCH, G. and R.C. BARNETT, Correlates of fathers' participation
1983 in family work: a technical report. Working Paper no.106, Wellesley College Center for Research on Women.

BINNS,D. and G. MARS, Family community and unemployment: a study
1984 in change. Socological Review,662-695.

BRENNER, M.H. Mental Illness and the Economy, Cambridge,
1973 Mass.:Harvard University Press.

BURKE, R. Comparison of men and women following a plant shutdown.
1985 Psychological Reports, 57, 59-66.

CATALANO,R., D. DOOLEY, and R. JACKSON, Economic predictors of
1981 admissions to mental health facilities in a non-metropolitan community. Journal of Health and Social Behavior, 22, 284-297.

CATALONO, D. DOOLEY, and R.L. JACKSON, Economic antecedents of help
1985 seeking: /reformulation of time-series tests. Journal of Health Social Behaviour. 26 (2) 141-152

DOOLEY,D. and R. CATALANO, Economic change as a cause of
1980 behavioral disorder. Psychological Bulletin 87, 450-468.

EISENBERG, P. and P.F. LAZARSFELD, The psychological effects of
1938 unemployment. Psychological Bulletin, 35, 358-90.

FAGIN, L. and M. LITTLE, Unemployment and Health in Families
1981 Department of Health and Social Security.

HAKIM,C. The social consequences of high unemployment. Journal
1982 of Social Policy, 11(4) 433-467.

HEPWORTH,S. Moderating factors of the psychological impact of
1980 unemployment Journal of Occupational Psychology, 53, 139-145.

JAHODA,M. The impact of unemployment in the thirties and
1979 seventies. British Psychological Society Bulletin, 32, 309-314.

JOHNSON, L. C. and R. ABRAMOVITCH, Unemployed Fathers: Parenting
1985 in a Changing Labour Market Toronto, Ontario: Social Planning Council.

LEVINE, J.A., J.H. PLECK, and M.E. LAMB, The fatherhood project, 1983 in M.E. Lamb and A.Sagi (Eds.) Fatherhood and Family Policy, Hillsdale, New Jersey: L. Erlbaum Associates, 101 - 102.

LIEM, R. and J. LIEM Social class and mental illness 1978 reconsidered: the role of economic stress and social support. Journal of Health and Social Behavior, 19, 139-156.

LIEM, R. and P. RAYMAN Health and social costs of 1982 unemployment. American Psychologist, 37, 1116-1123.

LIEM, R. and P. RAYMAN Perspectives on unemployment, mental 1984 health, and social policy. International Journal of Mental Health, 13, (1-2)

MARGOLIS, L. and D. FARRAN Unemployment and children. 1984 International Journal of Mental Health 13 (2) 107-124.

MARGOLIS, L. and D. FARRAN Economic policy and children: the 1985 consequences for children of paternal job loss. Paper presented at the meeting of the Society for Research in Child Development, Toronto.

MOEN, P. Unemployment, public policy and families: forecasts for 1983 the 1980s Journal of Marriage and the Family, 45, 751-760.

PLECK, J.H. Husbands' and wives' family work, paid work, and 1982 adjustment. Working Paper no. 95, Wellesley College Center for Research on Women.

POWELL, D.W. and P.F. DRISCOLL, Middle class professionals face 1978 unemployment. Society 10, 18-26.

RILEY, D. and M. COCHRAN, Naturally occurring childrearing 1985 advice for fathers: Utilizaiton of the personal social network. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 47 (2) 275-86

ROBINSON, J.P. How Americans Use Time New York: Praeger. 1977

ROBINSON, J.P. Housework technology and household work. In S.F. 1980 Berk (Ed.) Women and Household Labor Beverly Hills, California: Sage.

SCHWEFEL, D., J. JOHN, P POTTHOFF, and A. HECHLER Unemployment 1984 and mental health: Perspectives from the Federal Republic of Germany. International Journal of Mental Health, 13 (1-2) 35-50.

SOUTH, S.J. 1985 Economic conditions and the divorce rate: A time-series analysis of the postwar United States. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 47 (1) 31-41.

STATISTICS CANADA, 1985 Labour Force Status of Men by Family Responsibility and Presence of Wife, Annual Average, Canada, (unpublished table).

SWINBURNE,P 1981 The psychological impact of unemployment on managers and professional staff. Journal of Occupational Psychology, 54, 47-64.

THOMAS, L., McCABE and J.E. BERRY 1980 Unemployment and family stress: A reassessment. Family Relations, 29, 517-524.

WARR, P.B. 1978 A study of psychological well-being. British Journal of Psychology, 69, 111-121.